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FABIAN RESEARCH

Quarterly Report

HOME POLICY

Members of the Social Security Sub-Committee attended in July to give oral evidence before Sir William Beveridge's Inter-departmental Committee on Social Insurance and Allied Services. An interesting discussion turned chiefly on the suggestions about rent allowances, old age pensions, and Workmen's Compensation contained in the Sub-Committee's report. Sir William Beveridge eventually asked for supplementary memoranda to be submitted on the problems of rent and of old age. The text of the main memorandum has now been published in pamphlet form and is on sale from the Society at 1/-. It has aroused considerable interest. The Society also held a Weekend Conference on Social Security. Those present included many experts actually working in the field of the social services, who, being occupied in different watertight compartments, had had little chance to learn each others' views. There is increasing interest in the training and qualifications of social service personnel, and the Research Department has a growing reputation for having information and ideas about this problem—which is of great importance for the welfare and mutual good-will of the whole community.

Of recent pamphlets, three have already sold out and are reprinting—*Regional Government*, *The Woollen Industry*, and *Hospital Policy*. It is likely that a forthcoming pamphlet about management problems will be one of the most successful of recent publications. It discusses the social functions of the manager in a rapidly developing technical society, and the training and qualifications which he needs. It emphasises the responsibility of the manager to the community over whose way of living he has increasing power.

The Fabian book on the *Control of Industry* is proceeding under the auspices of the Economics Committee, and Professor Hermann Levy's standard work on *Trade Associations* has now been published at a time when the problem of retail organisation is much discussed. Doreen Idle's *War over West Ham*, a study of community evolution under the strain of the blitz, is now with the publishers. We go to press too early to report on an Education Conference arranged for September which will initiate a

program of research into current Educational problems for which a whole-time worker is being appointed.

COLONIAL BUREAU

Some months ago the Bureau appointed a Committee to study some questions of colonial administration. The first part of its work is now complete and in the press. It will be published under the title *Downing Street and the Colonies* and contains an analysis of the organisation of the Colonial Office and the Colonial Services, and a discussion of the part which Parliament and public opinion play in determining colonial policy. The Committee puts forward some dozens of recommendations for the improvement of the machinery of colonial government and suggests the establishment of a Standing Parliamentary Committee of both Houses to deal regularly and continuously with colonial affairs.

The Labour Committee which produced the report *Labour in the Colonies* last January has now been recalled to study workmen's compensation and social security in the colonies. The comprehensive work of the coöperative committee is proceeding under the chairmanship of Lord Winster and will, it is hoped, result in a major publication.

The second summer conference of the Bureau was held in Oxford in July. There was a record attendance. The conference ('The Colonies in the Post-war World') was addressed by Prof. Eric Walker, J. S. Furnivall, E. F. M. Durbin, Dr Margaret Read, Lord Faringdon, Mr Cameron Tudor (from the West Indies), Mr P. J. Johnson (from Malaya), Mr F. O. Blaize (from West Africa), Mr W. Benson, Dr Arthur Lewis, Mr Leonard Barnes, and Dr Rita Hinden. Some of the addresses are now being published in pamphlet form.

In addition to the regular Parliamentary and publicity work of the Bureau, special studies have been made of the present housing position in the Colonies, and the unsatisfactory situation as regards constitutional reform in the West Indies. Memoranda on these subjects have been addressed to the Colonial Office, followed by correspondence.

An outstanding development of recent months has been the growing recognition of the Bureau's work in the colonies themselves. A large correspondence is now being received from organisations and individuals in the colonies who turn to the Bureau for help and advice on a variety of matters. This has also resulted in the creation of local branches of the Fabian Society—the first to be formed was the Fabian Society (Nigeria branch) which is already developing an active and successful career.

INTERNATIONAL BUREAU

The influence of the Bureau has grown rapidly in the field of education and propaganda, and it is now planned that during the next six months its work shall be intensified in the research and political spheres, particularly in regard to emergency relief measures on the cessation of hostilities. The development of an informed public opinion prepared to continue to accept responsibility in international affairs when the last gun has fired is vital. The delays and muddles of 1918-19 can only be avoided if well-prepared and co-ordinated plans on an *international basis* are ready. 'A centralized controlling organization is the fundamental need—to plan relief with due regard to priorities; to secure the economic and just use of world shipping; and to handle the complicated financial claims that will arise. The Bureau is planning a conference to take place in December to discuss these problems.

France and Britain, which has been a bi-monthly publication in the past, is to become a monthly publication of pamphlet size in October (annual subscription: 3/-, including postage). With the day to day increase of resistance in France, the need for keeping British and American circles informed about developments in France, and wherever Frenchmen are able to continue the struggle, grows greater. It is hoped that *France and Britain* in its new form will have a wide and popular circulation. A pamphlet on *Resistant France* is in course of preparation.

Our Speakers' Panel of continental socialists and trade unionists is in constant use, particularly amongst trade union branches. Speakers Notes on *American Labour, Great Britain and the United States, Soviet Trade Unions* are now available (3d each, plus postage 2½d).

HERRENVOLK IN AFRICA

By Rita Hinden

Secretary, Fabian Colonial Bureau, and author of "Plan for Africa"

'Who shall say that Britain is free from dangerous political doctrines?' writes a 'white settler' in the daily newspaper of Kenya. 'One smells doctrinairianism in the pronouncements and leadership of such accepted authorities as Lord Hailey and Lord Moyne on the subject of African colonial treatment. The idea seems to be now of "uplifting" the backward races, with which laudable object no sensible person disagrees in principle. But they go further and theoretically *propose to treat all men in Africa whatever their race and colour or degree of culture, as equal in political status*. The Hottentot and the Professor to be regarded as a mere counting of heads. . . . Thus has doctrine gone a bit mad in Britain.'

But if this mad doctrine is pursued, the Kenya settler threatens, he and his comrades have other cards up their sleeves. 'There is high talk of confederation of British Africa from Kenya to Cape under the ægis of the Union of South Africa. Any adoption of such dangerous ideas in England will only hasten such a counter project and from this aspect the Lords Moyne and Hailey are simply digging the grave of their own insular ideas.'

Let no one think that these words were written by a crank, representing nothing but his own distorted viewpoint. They are probably typical of the views of the majority of Europeans, settled in Kenya, Northern Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia. They have been growing in momentum and spreading and intensifying since the war began. Before their impact, Britain has given ground, and an intensely dangerous situation is developing. It almost seems as if the clash between the ideals of democracy ('the Hottentot and the Professor to be regarded as a mere counting of heads') and the claims of a 'Herrenvolk' will have to be resolved all over again in Africa, when the war in Europe is over.

The tragedy of the situation is that, just as Britain had so little that was bold and imaginative to offer as a counterblast to Nazi doctrine in Europe, so it is in Africa. While the European communities there pursue their claims with clarity and vigour, Britain compromises and fumbles. To 'settler' minds Lords Moyne and Hailey may appear advanced revolutionaries. In practice, the Colonial Office, with Lord Moyne (and now Lord

Cranborne) at its helm and Lord Hailey high in its counsels, has been submitting to encroachment after encroachment of the African's rights, in pursuance of an appeasement policy of its own. The revolutionary activities of the noble Lords as far as East and Central Africa are concerned have been confined to the enunciation of idealistic precepts bearing no recognisable relation to actual practice. They and many others in Britain proclaim the rights of all men to equality of opportunity. Even while they do so, the African's opportunities shrink and his European neighbour's swell.

CROSS-CURRENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA

The source of the Herrenvolk idea in Africa is in the Union of South Africa. It is held there in its most extreme form by the Afrikaners. A typical resolution was recently passed by a Commission of the Dutch Reformed Church which wished to protest against the arming of non-Europeans against a Japanese invasion. This resolution says:

'The principle of arming non-Europeans is contrary to the constitution and principles of the Word of God, which is based on racial separateness and the principle of trusteeship on the part of Europeans as against non-Europeans.'

'The arming of non-Europeans would be contrary to the best traditions of the Afrikaner people. The policy of Christian Governments in the Union, when involved in war, has always been to use the services of natives and coloureds in subordinate and menial capacities . . .

'The Government should see that non-Europeans will be used only in subordinate and menial capacities.'

But in South Africa different forces are pulling in different directions in these war years. No one would claim that the many racial intolerances which rend that country have lessened, but there are other factors at work as well. South African natives are not yet 'armed', but the need for arming them has been widely canvassed and discussed, and advocated by many responsible persons. The recognition of this need has induced a different attitude to the natives themselves—you cannot rouse a man's hatred by branding him as an inferior breed, and in the same breath rig him out to fight for you with the latest military equipment. Even the Germans have not tried to do that with the despised and conquered races of Europe. In addition, Africans are now needed as never before to provide skilled labour for South Africa's swelling war industries. The war has seen a great growth of manufacturing industry in the Union. The small European

population does not, as a whole, take kindly to manual labour—in any case, a considerable proportion of the Europeans are already in the forces. In the past, under the ‘civilised labour policy’, Africans have been kept rigidly to unskilled work. But this is now becoming more and more difficult. The European needs the African in the army and in industry, and he must, therefore, modify his tone. It is significant that, a few months ago for the first time, native Trade Unions in South Africa were legalised.

There is one other factor working in a positive direction in South Africa. When the white South African troops went north, they found themselves fighting side by side with black troops from West Africa, where the colour-bars of East and South Africa are scarcely known. They were surprised to find these West African troops educated and intelligent, and could not refrain from comment and comparison with their own ignorant and backward African of the Union. The armed forces of West Africa have had a psychological effect in another way as well. I have had described to me a parade of these West Africans with full military equipment, through the streets of Cape Town while passing through to the battle-front, and the resentful attitude this spectacle evoked in the South African natives who had always been kept to the ‘subordinate and menial capacities’ which the Afrikaners demand for them

TRUSTEESHIP ?

Perhaps it was due to various influences like these that Field-Marshal Smuts was led to make his historic speech on a new ‘basis of trusteeship’ in Cape Town, early this year. He admitted that the German idea of a master people had had its effect in South Africa. And in South Africa there had been the complicating difficulty of the motive of fear—the fear of the racial minority, that if it did not assert itself to complete mastery, its position would be in danger. Attempts had been made ‘to get round this fear by the policy commonly called “segregation”—the policy of keeping Europeans and Africans completely apart for their own self-preservation. We have tried to carry out this policy . . . but there is very great disappointment at the result which has been achieved.’ ‘You might as well try to sweep the ocean back with a broom,’ Smuts continued, and ended on this note: ‘I think that if we were to give a holiday to all the old ideas that have brought nothing else but division and strife to this country—if we were to by-pass this controversy under which there is no benefit any more and if we were to try out . . . this principle of trusteeship, we may build up that pattern of a new

South Africa . . . which may be a lesson to the rest of the world.'

These thoughts are stirring in South Africa, but there is no promise yet of action, and one would have to be optimistic indeed to predict with assurance a new spirit in South African race relations. The *Herrenvolk* idea, with all it means in terms of colour-bar, race-segregation, and humiliation of the African, is still the dominant theme in South African life, and its poison spreads insidiously northward.

THE MASTER RACE IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA

The country nearest its borders and nearest South Africa in sentiment is Southern Rhodesia. This 'colony' has semi-responsible government and no longer falls under the Colonial Office but under the Dominions Office. In theory, Britain has the right to veto any legislation which discriminates against the African. In practice Britain is most diffident in exercising this right. The 50,000 Europeans run the show (which happens to include one and a quarter million Africans) pretty well as they like, with a Prime Minister and a Parliament of their own. The legislation of recent years in Southern Rhodesia has been growingly 'anti-native', but Britain shuts her eyes and swallows hard. Southern Rhodesia already has pass laws, an industrial colour bar, a land segregation policy, a price discriminating policy, and all the rest of the 'Herrenvolk-protective' apparatus which Field Marshal Smuts now admits to have been a 'disappointment' in the Union. The present Prime Minister, Sir Godfrey Huggins, has identified himself with racial discrimination and adopted a policy of what he calls 'parallel development'—the polite name for 'segregation'. Speaking before the Southern Rhodesian Parliament in 1941 on the introduction of an Act dividing the land into 'European' and 'native' areas (the area immediately assigned for Europeans being more than twice the size assigned for natives), Sir Godfrey said:

'It was essential if they were to give the natives a square deal that they must for many years to come be developed separately from the Europeans. It was their duty until they had their full responsibilities to do all they could to improve them. It was obvious to him that if they set out to improve the natives in the way they should do, until they had been raised very considerably in the social and civilised scale, they would be a menace to the Europeans. . . . He believed in parallel development. Where the native was not employed by Europeans he must live and develop in his own area. . . . Geographical segregation and a certain amount of differential legislation would be

necessary for a considerable time to prevent baneful influences on the European during the process of raising the native.'

It is not always easy for people in England to grasp how strong a grip the idea of race mastery has on white people in Rhodesia. It comes as a distinct shock to read certain paragraphs in the Rhodesian press where the most extraordinary sentiments (in our eyes) appear quite commonplace. Take, for example, the following report of the Umvuma Farmers' Association :

'Mr X said . . . he would like to see the introduction of corporal punishment in the case of all (native labour) deserters, so that when a farmer took a native to court for desertion he could take him home punished. The committee agreed, and the suggestion that corporal punishment should be adopted for deserters was agreed to. It was agreed that all native Commissioners should be empowered to use the cane summarily on adult and juvenile should they consider a case warranted such treatment. . . . Mr X was prepared to see complete segregation of the native on what he had today, but was against his encroaching further on the European area.'

Native policy in Southern Rhodesia has roused more than one local European to protest. Some of the loudest protests have come from the poet Arthur Shearly Cripps. His lines, 'Will the Colour Bar cross the Zambesi?' which refer to the proposal to amalgamate Northern Rhodesia and Nyassaland (at present under direct British control), are certainly not ambiguous in their intent :

Southern Rhodesia's curst. I'll tell you why :
 Small heed she pays to Parliament or King :
 She flies their freedom's flag, but—here's the sting—
 Fascists (that freedom's foes) she's shackled by :
 Equality's to her a loathsome lie :
 Fraternity's for her a hateful thing :
 Liberty flees her : deaf, blind, blundering—
 Her rulers' rights to those they rule deny.

Southern Rhodesia's ill-steered ship is wreckt
 On rocks of cleavage, reef of Colour Bar :
 Shall such a State to her curst rule subject
 Twin States beyond Zambesi—free so far ?
 Africa's river-line 'twixt love and hate,
 God, let no Southern Slaver violate !

DETERIORATION

Unfortunately, the Colour Bar has already crossed the Zambesi into Northern Rhodesia, which is a British colony, and a direct British responsibility. Although Britain has repeatedly expressed herself against the colour bar and the situation is nothing like so

blatant or so bad as in Southern Rhodesia, in practice the master-race of 13,000 Europeans enjoys endless privileges denied to the 1,300,000 inferior Africans. On a legislative council of 19 members, the Europeans have eight selected representatives, the Africans have one nominated unofficial member (a European 'settler') to represent the interests of the whole of the African community (apart from Government officials). The African has no franchise. Even if he possessed adequate property qualifications he would not have it because, by a legal quibble, he is only a British-protected subject, whereas the franchise is limited to British subjects. The African is, in practice, debarred from skilled work on the mines; his land situation is parlous because of the alienation of much of the best land to Europeans; he receives the minimum of social services; from no point of view does he share equality of opportunity with the Europeans.

In Kenya, also a British colony, it is very much the same story. There are endless discriminations against the Africans, and no outlet for the Africans to voice their grievances. The local government in Northern Rhodesia and Kenya, consisting as they do of British Colonial officials, strive as far as they can to protect native interests and carry out the wishes of Whitehall. But the British policy has been timorous and hesitating. It is attacked violently by the European communities for its hostility to their interests, and at the same time it is too weak really to protect the Africans. Step by step it gives way, with the European communities breathing fire and thunder in its train and pursuing every advantage. In Southern Rhodesia, British imperial influence is already all but negligible. More and more is discriminatory legislation being imposed without a murmur from London.

It is particularly unfortunate that the position has been deteriorating so blatantly since the outbreak of war, because this deterioration in Kenya and Northern Rhodesia is a sharp challenge to British sincerity. In these war years, there has been quite a significant change in the British attitude towards colonial affairs. The rather icy indifference with which the British public has been used to treat the dependent empire has thawed, noticeably. And responsible British statesmen have been endeavouring, with obvious earnestness and sincerity, to enunciate a new relationship between the imperial power and the colonial peoples. Colonial responsibilities are being regarded with a new gravity today, and the Government is unquestionably anxious not to lag—at least in its sentiments—behind the challenge to the old assumptions of imperialism which this war has already so dramatically presented.

More is the pity, therefore, that the goodwill in Britain should

be accompanied by a retrograde policy in parts of Africa. In the last year, under the pressure of war conditions, the local governments have allowed European communities to gain in power in the counsels of Kenya and Northern Rhodesia, and even to attain to a considerable measure of Executive authority. But no parallel step in favour of the African has been taken—he still remains with no unofficial representative at all on the Kenya Council, and with only one nominated unofficial representative (a European) in Northern Rhodesia. In addition, he is being conscripted to labour on European farms—under the control of European employers in Kenya, under Government control in Northern Rhodesia. He receives lower prices for his produce than do the Europeans; his conditions of service in the armed forces are anything but on an equality. He has so few means of voicing his feelings about all this that one forgets he has feelings. But here are one or two brief extracts from letters from Africans in a Kenya newspaper. The letters were provoked by the introduction of forced labour:

‘Sir, it really is fitting that when deciding the fate of millions of Africans they should be allowed a say. Is it not high time that we were represented by an African on many of these Councils and Committees including the Legislative Council? Indians have their members on the Legislative Council and yet they have not yet been conscripted.’

and again:

‘The settlers have every opportunity to make themselves heard while we are not given a chance to express our point of view at all. Someone else is supposed to do that for us. In view of the disabilities from which the Kenya African suffers, let us hope that the Government will reconsider this very important problem of labour and resort to the humane privilege of voluntary labour.’

A BOLDER FRONT

When the war is over, those East African and Rhodesian natives who are in the armed forces—and who are learning more than the art of war while they are away from home—will return to their countries in a critical frame of mind and query the conditions under which they will be expected to live and work. There is the immediate question, what is being prepared and planned for these men? For the European serving-men plans are already being discussed in considerable detail; for the African serving-men, there is nothing. But there is also the bigger question, what positive policy has Britain for the future of these people? How will we counter the ‘Herrenvolk’ claims which the Europeans—strengthened by their contributions to the war effort—will

almost certainly advance with increasing stridence? What can Britain answer to the threat of a 'confederation of British Africa from Kenya to Cape under the ægis of the Union of South Africa?'

European experience should have taught us that strong and firmly-held doctrines can only be met by equally strong and firmly-held counter-doctrines. Through her very weakness, Britain is herself almost as much to blame as the communities on the spot. However we may dislike some of their doctrines, we dare not forget that many of the settlers were encouraged to emigrate to Africa by the British Government itself, in days gone by. The difficult conditions of life (which they were not always led to prepare for) and the general environment have, perhaps inevitably, bred habits of mind and thought that would have been foreign to these men had they remained at home. And Britain has not offered them any palatable or attractive counter-doctrine to the easy temptation of prosperity through racial domination. There is a responsibility we owe to these European communities. But the main responsibility is, after all, to the African who constitutes a good 90% of the population, and whose land it is, when all is said and done. By her present weak vacillations, Britain finds favour with neither race. In the meantime racial hatred grows; and, at the moment, the 'Herrenvolk' have the upper hand.

There is just one alternative on which it is interesting to speculate. I have referred to certain more 'liberal' tendencies in South Africa, induced by new economic and military demands. It would indeed be strange if a new spirit of race collaboration spread upwards through Africa from the south. Sheer economic necessity may in the end prove a stronger ally to the African than political goodwill. It was, after all, the industrial revolution which paved the way to the new-found liberties of the British working-classes. Perhaps African history, for all its racial complications, will not tread so different a path.

CONTROL IN THE CLOTHING INDUSTRY

With the promulgation by the Board of Trade of a recent series of Orders, made partly under powers given by Defence Regulation No. 55 and partly under those given by the Goods and Services (Price Control) Act, 1941, there emerges, after three years of war, a comprehensive system of production and price control in the most important of the non-food consumers' goods industries. It is to be presumed that the general lines of policy and administration which have now been worked out for the clothing industry may be applied (with considerable modifications, of course, to meet differing conditions) in other consumers' goods industries; and it will be of value to examine not only the stage which has now been reached, but the successive steps which have culminated in the Apparel and Textiles Order, the score of Directions that have already been made under it, and the series of Maximum Price Orders covering Utility cloth, Utility apparel, and nearly all other textiles and clothing at all stages of production and distribution.

This article will confine itself to consideration of the clothing industry proper—that is the production, distribution and pricing of made-up clothing. The problems of cloth producers impinge very closely on this field, and something of what has been done will have to be mentioned, but the control of the woollen industry has already been very fully dealt with in a Fabian Society Research Pamphlet, and cotton control is far too technical a subject to be attempted here.

A POLICY EMERGES

The most interesting feature of the present stage is not that it should have taken so long to achieve, but that out of the incoherent, unsystematic, uncoordinated series of expedients and devices that have been used by the Board of Trade in this field, any coordinated policy should have emerged at all. It will be seen by examination of the process of development that almost every feature of the system was originally devised for some purpose quite different from that which it now serves. It is quite certain that for very many months after the war began there was no intention in the mind of the Government to interfere with the ordinary course of civilian business, and there seems to be no indication, as far as the clothing industry was concerned, that

there was any realisation of the problems that would arise—raw material supplies, labour difficulties, questions of prices, quality, channels of distribution.

The only piece of legislation which affected this trade in the early months of the war was an Act which purported to be aimed at preventing inflation—the Prices of Goods Act, 1939; but as a price fixing measure the effects of the Act in most fields were negative. It was in any case not until June 1940 that it was made applicable to all clothing; until that date, the only clothing to which it referred were certain specified articles in the lower price ranges—roughly speaking, the types of garment that entered into the Cost of Living Index. Meanwhile, however, there had taken place a development of policy on the supply side which made the Prices of Goods Act an inflationary influence, rather than the reverse. For its main principle was that the price that might be charged was the basic price—i.e. the price ruling on August 21st 1939—plus such increases as might be justified by reference to certain matters specified in a Schedule. Among these matters was ‘the volume of the business over which the overheads thereof fall to be spread’. And in April 1940 there had been made the Piece Goods and Made-up Goods (Cotton, Rayon, and Linen) Order, the first of the Limitation of Supplies Orders.

The Limitations of Supplies Orders have become, during the past two years, the basis of Government policy for the consumers’ goods industries. It is as well to remember, therefore, that in their origin they were not designed as part of a policy to assign to those industries their proper proportion of the materials and resources available—the proportion which it was absolutely essential should be allotted for those purposes. The aim was in fact to prevent the products of the industries concerned from being diverted, by the higher prices available in the home market, away from the export markets. Limitation of Supplies was, to begin with, purely and simply part of the export drive; its effects on the home market were a by-product, and the ultimate development of the policy of limitation of supply into the utility clothing scheme and the production control policy could hardly have been foreseen in April 1940.

One of these by-product effects was in the field of prices. Broadly speaking, the object of the first scheme was to restrict the supplies of cotton, linen and rayon piece goods and made-up goods which could reach the home consumer; and this was achieved by limiting the volume of sales that could be made by wholesalers to a percentage of the sales that had been made by them in the standard period, which was taken as the six months ended

September 30th 1939. All sales of the type of piece-goods concerned by manufacturers to either retailers or garment makers-up were subject to quota, as also were all sales of either such piece goods or garments made from them by wholesalers. Wholesalers had to be registered, and piece-goods manufacturers, though not registered, were subject to supervision that amounted to registration from the point of view of the Order. Sales between registered persons were unrestricted, but the moment a sale was made from a registered person to an unregistered one, such sale counted as part of the seller's quota. It followed automatically that the supplies coming into the hands of retailers were reduced, and equally automatically that by the terms of the Prices of Goods Act, there was a corresponding increase in prices. The general effect was to inflate prices at and beyond the wholesale stage.

It will be noted that the point at which control was exerted under the scheme was at the point of sale from wholesaler or maker-up to retailer. No control was exerted at the manufacturing stage. It will be noted also that the scheme as originally promulgated covered only a very small field—that in which it was particularly desired to prevent home trade from absorbing productive capacity which could be devoted to export.

A considerable extension of the field covered was effected shortly afterwards by the Limitation of Supplies (Miscellaneous) Order. This applied, broadly speaking, the same principles of supply control over a very wide range of articles for civilian consumption. It developed the earlier scheme, however, by aiming at limiting production of non-essential goods to some extent, and by requiring manufacturers to register. It was estimated that the classes of goods covered by the Order represented a peace-time retail turnover of about £250 millions, which together with the £100 millions represented by the textiles in the first Order, meant that about one-third of the total trade in civilian consumers' goods was now affected. As far as clothing was concerned, corsets and brassieres, gloves, some types of knitted apparel, and fur apparel, were brought within the limitation scheme.

During the next year, the shape of the control scheme altered hardly at all. A step towards the possibility of control at the manufacturing stage for the classes of goods covered in the first Order was taken in September 1940 when piece-goods manufacturers and merchant converters were required to register (Woven Textiles Order, 1940.) At the same time a considerable cut was made in the quota, so that for the first time the limitation policy began to have an appreciable effect on the volume of trade. One step was taken, however, which foreshadowed the way in

which the limitation machinery could be used as an instrument in production policy. Certain types of artisans' clothing and infants' wear were altogether excluded from the scheme—in other words, they could be sold free of quota. Similar steps which again were to serve as an important precedent for purposes quite different from their original conception were taken in September 1940 when individual and general licences were issued by the Board permitting registered persons to sell in excess of their quota in order to enable the replacement of goods destroyed in air raids. The licensing device has since been used extremely effectively in order to give the utility clothing scheme a flexibility and an adaptability to individual circumstances which it could never otherwise have attained.

“THE QUOTA RACKET”

Meanwhile the whole stability of the limitation scheme was being threatened by the development of what was known as ‘the quota racket’. It will be readily appreciated that under a system where an individual's sales are limited to a permitted maximum, the right to sell goods becomes in itself a piece of valuable property. A registered person who for one reason or another did not wish to sell to the full extent of his quota, or was unable to do so, was in a position to sell his quota—i.e. his right to sell goods—to some other registered person who had more goods than quota. The Board of Trade recognised that this situation must arise, and provided that quota rights might be transferred, on condition that such transfer was notified to the Board within seven days. But in fact the machinery by which ‘unused’ quota was sold disregarded the official provisions completely, and the policing arrangements were clearly incapable of dealing with it. Two developments attained an enormous scale. One was the systematic evasion of the quota restrictions. It was possible for evasion to go on for a very long time undiscovered, and in any case the profits to be made were out of all proportion to the fines inflicted in the cases where prosecutions were undertaken. The second was a vast market in fraudulent or non-existent quotas.

In an attempt to overcome this problem, the Board of Trade in February 1941 made far-reaching regulations regarding the furnishing of information by both sellers and buyers of controlled goods. Among these regulations there was an inconspicuous provision empowering the Board to give compulsory Directions to any person regulating or prohibiting the supply or acquisition by him of controlled goods. In this provision lay the beginnings of another important aspect of the policy now embodied in the

Apparel and Textiles Order—the giving by the Board of Directions to producers as to the type of goods to be produced by them.

In March 1941 the supply quota scheme was extended to woollen piece-goods and made-up goods, but no other change became operative in the general scheme until an entirely new phase was opened up by the introduction of consumer-rationing in June 1941.

CONSUMER RATIONING

Consumer rationing of clothing put the whole problem into a new setting, by creating a new set of problems for the solution of which it was essential that there should be a coordinated policy dealing with production, supply, and prices. It was in response to the situation brought about by consumer rationing that the utility clothing scheme took shape, gradually breaking away from the system of quota-control that was the basis of the limitations of supply policy to a policy of production control combined with full price legislation, but retaining many of the devices and expedients that had been worked out during the previous two years. It is not unencouraging that the Board of Trade in this instance has shown itself ready to digest and assimilate its experience, and to translate into legislative terms the lessons it had learnt in the course of administration.

The main problem that was raised by rationing was that since consumers could buy only a limited number of clothes, those who could afford to do so would wish to buy only those of the very best quality, and since it was more profitable for manufacturers to produce the higher priced groups of garments, there was immediate danger of a grave shortage of cheaper types. At the same time, it became important to ensure that the very limited supplies of raw materials available should not be used in the production of worthless articles. Some method had therefore to be found of concentrating production of clothing into the lower price ranges, while ensuring that standards of quality were kept as high as possible. Out of this situation the utility clothing scheme was born.

At first—shortly after the introduction of consumer rationing—a temporary scheme, known as the Essential Clothing Scheme, was put into operation. This made use of one of the earlier devices—the licensing of registered persons to sell garments of certain types free of quota. The types covered were those which were in particularly short supply but a condition attached to the licence was that garments so licensed should not be sold above a certain price. Thus production in the cheaper ranges was encouraged. But this fell short of the full scheme.

The foundation of the Utility Scheme lies in the specification of cloths. A number of cloth specifications were laid down, at first rather loosely, but, as the scheme has developed, with increasing closeness; in some sections very rigid and valuable specifications have been worked out by the British Standards Institution. Each of these specifications was assigned a number. With this machinery as a basis, the whole system of supply control worked out in the limitation of supply policy was replaced by a new system, which was fixed by a new series of Orders made between August and December 1941, the chief of which were the two Cloth and Apparel Orders (S R O 1941, Nos. 1281 and 1614). Under this system wholesalers and garment makers (except in two classes, corsets and knitted goods) were freed from quota control; the only restriction on supply now rested on cloth producers. And here began the beginnings of production control, for cloth producers now were allotted a very small quota for non-utility cloths. If they wished to supply to the limit which was allowed, two-thirds of their sales had to be of the specified utility cloths, marked with the utility mark and number, and sold within the price range laid down.

Starting from this basis of a varied, but limited, range of specified cloths, the next step was to control the use of the cloths by makers-up. To this end the Orders provided that each utility cloth could be used only to make certain types of garments. For each type of garment, maximum prices were fixed for manufacturer, wholesaler and retailer. Since the maximum price for cloth of any specification number was known, it was possible to work out an over-riding maximum price for each garment made from that cloth. Within that over-riding maximum, a maker-up's price was further limited to his cost of production and sale plus a percentage of net profit varying from 4% in the case of men's outerwear to 7½% in the case of some types of knitted garments and corsets. Distributors' maximum prices were fixed at their buying price plus a gross percentage margin, always subject to an over-riding maximum for each type of garment made from each specified cloth. Flexibility within the scheme was aided by the retention of the licensing system, under which the Board could permit a garment maker-up, in special circumstances, to use utility cloth for making into garments other than those provided for. Such licences contained price conditions among others.

The stage was now approaching where supply control could give way to a much more far-reaching system of production control. As the implications of rationing became clearer, and as the vast cushion of stocks which had been in the hands of wholesalers and

retailers at the outbreak of war were at length virtually exhausted, the production-demand relationship was much simplified. It became possible to make an estimate of the volume of demand for particular types of article, and as a consequence of rationing it became necessary to ensure that there should not be waste of resources by over-production in one direction and shortage in another. The most complete step taken by the Board of Trade in the direction of production control was now started by the 'designation' system. Under this system, a maker-up could apply for, and if the Board considered him suitable, be granted 'designation'. This involved the maker-up in undertaking to produce at least 75% of his output either of utility goods (i.e. goods made from utility cloth of the types laid down in the Orders) or for Government contracts. In return, the Board of Trade would secure for the maker-up some degree of protection for labour, and a certain amount of priority in the allocation of materials.

EVENTUALLY—CONTROL OF MANUFACTURE

The final abandonment of the policy of supply control and the substitution for it of control of manufacture came with the making, at the end of May 1942, of the Apparel and Textiles Order (S. R & O 1942, No. 1000), and a number of Directions made under it. The scope and aim of this Order may best be appreciated by the quotation of two of its articles :

'1. A manufacturer of controlled goods or goods wholly or partly manufactured therefrom shall comply with any directions issued by the Board of Trade or the Ministry of Supply regulating or prohibiting the manufacture of such goods by him or the supply of such goods manufactured by him.

'7. (1) Any direction issued under this Order may apply to persons generally or to any particular person or class of persons.

(3) Without prejudice to the generality of Article I, the directions issued thereunder may include directions :

(a) regulating the descriptions of goods which may be manufactured or which may be manufactured from a specified material or prohibiting the manufacture of any description of goods or of any description of goods from a specified material.

(b) regulating the materials which may be used in the manufacture of any goods or the manner of use thereof, or prohibiting the use of any material therein or such use in any manner.

(c) regulating the processes and methods of manufacture which may be employed in the manufacture of any goods (including the cost which may be incurred in any such process) or

prohibiting the employment of any process or any method of manufacture therein.

(d) regulating the quantity which may be manufactured of any goods.

(e) regulating the packing of any goods for despatch.

(f) regulating or prohibiting the supply of any goods during any period either generally or to any person or to any class of persons, and

(g) regulating the price or other consideration which may be received upon the supply of any goods either generally or to any person or to any class of persons.'

It will be seen that these enabling powers announce the intention of the Board of Trade to assume very full responsibility for the organisation of control in the clothing-producing industry; and the Directions applying to various sections of the industry which have already been made under these powers indicate no hesitation on the Board's part to put this intention into practice. In some sections, there have already been Directions to individual manufacturers; in the explanatory notes to the Knitted Goods (Manufacture and Supply) Directions the Board say that as from July 1st 1942 'registered manufacturers who are nucleus firms will receive special Directions framed so as to make the best use of their productive capacity in the light of the general programme; the Directions will state the kind of goods, both utility and non-utility, and the quantity of each kind, which they are permitted to manufacture.'

Further developments on these lines may be expected in other sections of the industry, and with these developments of control there must inevitably be developments of general planning for the industry as a whole which were certainly never contemplated when the first steps that have led up to this situation were taken. These developments open up many intensely interesting and new fields of speculation as to the form which Government control of small-scale private industry within a generally planned economy may take.

THE AIRCRAFT WORKER

EDITOR'S NOTE :

The following account underlines the urgent need for reconstruction on Socialist lines. Capitalist anomalies result in the disillusion and apathy described in this article: these operatives show little sense of democratic unity with the whole community, they lack concentrated interest in the ideology of the war, they have no pride in a citizenship which has meant insecurity in the past, their education has been deficient. The war production muddle is seen against the greater muddle of our social system. Those who look towards a fundamental change in the social and economic structure of our society will draw their own moral from this bleak indictment of the present regime.

In attempting to describe life in an aircraft factory from the point of view of the worker, it is easy to fall into the trap of merely producing a long list of criticisms, and failing to present a fair view by reason of one's personal bias.

After serving for the past twelve months in the ranks of the R A F and working at every conceivable occupation other than that for which he received a long course of technical training, the writer of this article applied to be released from the Service in order to be transferred to an aircraft factory. To a certain extent his hopes of employing his time more usefully have been realised. His personal comfort and financial position have vastly improved, and to one who has spent his whole business life in an office, the experience is a complete change and most stimulating. The first impression in the factory is one of friendliness. It is difficult to realise that the foremen and charge hands are on a different footing from N C O s and Officers in the Services, and the realisation that one is a civilian again dawns slowly. The satisfaction of knowing that regular working hours are to be followed by leisure is tremendous. The prospect of being a civilian and actually being able to arrange one's affairs a few days in advance is unbelievable.

THE WEEK'S WORK

The working week consists of forty-seven hours, with overtime on two nights until 8.30 and all day on Sunday. Sunday work is not compulsory, but it is expected that as a general rule three Sundays out of four shall be working days, although many workers are absent much more frequently.

A comparative novice is perpetually cutting and bruising himself, and it is no small satisfaction to him to be encouraged to visit the first-aid centre on the premises for treatment. The centre is beautifully equipped and efficiently run by qualified nurses, and a doctor is in attendance at certain hours each day. No matter how small the injury it is dressed daily until it is completely healed. This is obviously to the mutual advantage of both employer and employee, as the metal in use is of a poisonous nature, and small filings in a cut allowed to go unattended can cause endless trouble.

The work itself is similar to that in any other engineering factory. The criticism that has been made so often of the shortage of tools and general delays impresses itself quickly, and a sense of frustration is soon apparent. The worst delay is in delivery of parts. In the particular department with which the writer is concerned the parts required for assembly are made in another workshop, and these should be delivered in complete sets before the section can be assembled. It is most unusual for a complete set to be delivered and the first delay ensues. When the parts are all delivered a further hold up frequently follows by reason of their not being made to the correct specifications. When they are too large the operator can usually bring them down to the required size, but at the expense of his own time and with consequent loss of bonus. When the parts are too small the result is more serious, as in addition to the delay in waiting for fresh parts to be made, the old ones must be scrapped and melted down again. For some reason which no one in the factory can or will explain there is no check on these parts by the inspection department before they leave the press shop. Inspection is completed in the assembly department just before the parts are actually built into the sections.

Shortage of tools is responsible for more delays, and most operators are constantly held up by waiting until they can borrow a tool which is in use on another bench. This shortage encourages pilfering, and it is one of the bench hand's biggest problems to keep the tools which have been issued to him for any length of time. It is quite a normal occurrence for him to find that his drawer has been rifled during a temporary absence. This applies not only to tools but also to small parts which the operator has spent a considerable amount of time in making.

In addition to basic wages and overtime a bonus system is in operation. A certain period is laid down by the rate fixing department as the time allowed for the completion of a job. Usually this is fairly well judged, although instances frequently occur

where the time may be hopelessly under or over estimated. The system loses its point by its methods of adjustment. An operator may be fortunate and save many hours on his job when all his parts are delivered to him without delay, or he may take long over his allotted time through no fault of his own, but merely because he has to wait for delivery of parts, or for tools or machines to be available. For instance:

- (a) A job is scheduled to last ten hours. It is completed in five hours. The five hours saved entitle the operator to five hours bonus pay at 10d per hour.
- (b) The job is completed in ten hours, the exact time allotted. The operator takes his instructions to the ratefixer, who gives him a 'plus up' and alters the allotted time to fifteen hours, or time and a half.

On this system there is little to encourage the operator to put his back into the job and save time, when he knows that by taking things easily and making his job last longer he can earn just as much bonus. It is true that in the example quoted he can be working on another job in the hours he has saved, but it does not always work out as easily as that. The writer recently had the following experience. A number of parts were required for which 280 hours were allowed. The operation was completed in 185 hours. This allowed 95 hours bonus time at 10d per hour—approximately £4. The job was completed in twenty-two days, giving a bonus of £1 5s 6d per week. Had the operation lasted 280 hours, the rate fixer would have adjusted the time allowed to 420 hours, allowing 140 bonus hours earning £5 16s 8d for thirty-two days' work, giving a bonus of £1 4s 9d per week, or almost exactly the same amount.

Approximately half of the employees in this factory are girls, and on the whole they keep the output well up to schedule. In fact many of them are far superior workers to the men, and are more conscientious. There are, however, a fair number who go to the opposite extreme and will continue to do so while there is such a lack of supervision. This applies equally to the men, and the fault appears to lie mainly with the charge hands who are lacking in personality and courage—both very necessary qualities for dealing with large numbers of workers. What appears to be a serious mistake is the selection of girls who are too young, inexperienced and irresponsible as inspectors. An all too frequent happening is for a bench hand who takes a part to be stamped by the inspectors to be met with a blank refusal until after lunch or tea because they are 'just making tea' or 'just going to wash'.

This may be all very well when it is only a matter of a minute or so before the mealtime, but when it may be as much as twenty minutes it seems hopelessly unreasonable. The operator is in a difficult position here. The inspector refuses to examine the part, the charge hand will not bother to insist on the inspection being made, and the operator walks round trying to look busy and avoid the foreman's eye.

The most serious aspect of factory life is the apathy and lack of any sense of urgency among the workers. Until recently a common practice was for workers to absent themselves on one day during the week and then to work on Sundays in order to work at double pay. This has now been stopped and Sunday work is not allowed unless a whole week's work has been completed, including two nights' overtime. A small night shift works on six nights each week, and on Saturday nights each workshop takes turns for the whole male staff to work all night and act as fire watchers in case of emergency. On a fire watching week, Sunday work is, of course, impossible, but as the night shift on Saturday is officially fire watching and therefore compulsory, it provides a splendid excuse for absence from overtime during the week, and full advantage is taken of the opportunity. It is difficult to criticise the workers fairly. For many years during the depression they were living in terribly reduced circumstances. Now they are prosperous and have money to spend. They have only twice suffered from air raids and have had little other direct contact with the war. Very few men from the district have been called to the Services, as it is a highly industrial area and nearly all the men are working in aircraft factories or shipyards. They have received little encouragement to believe in continuing prosperity after the war. No concrete statement of war aims has been made which could incite them to greater efforts, and they have no belief in a new social order which will give them opportunities of a new life. Unfortunately there is a large element among the workers who care little for a new social order, and have no interest whatever in the form of government in power so long as they have money to spend.

LIVING CONDITIONS

For workers who have been transferred from other parts of the country living conditions are difficult. Ordinary lodgings are almost unobtainable, and even where they can be found it is a case of taking almost anything there is to be had. Few of the houses with rooms to let have bathrooms. The houses are small and the lodger is often expected to share a bed with a complete

stranger. Even so, most men prefer this to living in the government hostel camp.

The regulations of this camp and the system on which it is run may not apply to all camps, as it is controlled by a Special Housing Scheme. It was planned and built originally as a Blitz hostel for accommodating people bombed out in the district. As there has been no occasion to use it for this purpose since it was built, the authorities have agreed that part of the accommodation available should be used for workmen. The camp consists of a central building containing the Warden's offices, a large dining hall, kitchens, a games room, and a quiet room for reading and writing. The sleeping quarters consist of dormitories divided into three rooms, two of them containing twelve beds each, the third one being a small sitting room. These dormitories are joined in blocks of four, and in each block are two bathrooms, four showers, ten washbasins and a drying room. There is ample hot water and the rooms are kept very clean. The bathrooms are, however, anything but adequate for ninety-six men.

FOOD

The food is good and well cooked, but not very ample. Each man collects his meal on a tray from the service counter and returns it when he has finished. The responsibility for the food shortage lies not with the management of the hostel itself but with the central authority. The men here have breakfast and an evening meal at the hostel, and their midday meal at the works canteen, which is well equipped and has a plentiful supply of excellent food. Unfortunately most of this is ruined in the cooking. This is a great pity and is inexcusable as the kitchens are the envy of the restaurants in the district. For the very reasonable charge of 1/3 a midday meal consisting of soup, meat and vegetables, sweet, cakes and tea or coffee is provided. No doubt the difficulties are great, as all the rush comes in a few minutes, but the service is abominable. Here again it is difficult to make excuses as an accurate estimate can be made of the daily requirements and it should be possible to organise the service properly.

Acting on the assumption that the midday meal would be the main meal of the day, the powers that be decided that meat should not be included in the rations supplied to the hostel, but that 7/6 worth should be supplied for every fifty men each week for flavouring! The warden protested and eventually obtained sanction for a small issue of meat for each man. This seems to be an unfair discrimination against the occupants of the hostel, when men in ordinary lodgings or living at home can obtain their

full rations as well as taking their mid-day meal in the canteen. Other rationed foods are also little in evidence, and cheese has only been seen twice in two months. Foods on the Points rationing are never supplied. Obviously it cannot be expected that anything elaborate should be provided, as the charge of 24/6 per week for living accommodation and two meals each day is reasonable enough, but the men do feel a considerable amount of resentment that they are not getting their full supply of rationed goods.

HOSTEL UNPOPULAR

Most of the men living in the hostel have been released from the R A F. They have several main objections to living there. The chief of these is that it is a camp and therefore has a slight suggestion of Service conditions, and they all feel that they would prefer to be living in a private house. They dislike waiting even a few minutes in a queue for meals, and they also have to queue for washing and baths in the evenings. They dislike having to travel to work, although the journey only takes twenty minutes, and they would prefer to live almost on the doorstep of the factory. There are mixed feelings about sleeping in a dormitory. Some like having the company of other men around them, but most would prefer the privacy of their own bedroom. There is not enough accommodation for setting out their own belongings and keeping them in order.

Few of the men remain in the hostel for any length of time, and the general feeling is that it is useful as a temporary measure until lodging accommodation can be found elsewhere. The main impression is that it could have been a success if small bedrooms had been built instead of dormitories, and if more consideration were given over distribution of rationed foods. It would be unfair to call the scheme a complete failure, as it is still in its infancy and far from being in its stride. The fact that the camp is in very beautiful surroundings unfortunately counts for little with the majority of its present occupants. As with all innovations of this type a great deal can be learnt from early mistakes, and there are grounds to hope that in the future the hostel scheme may be successful.

REFORM THE FOREIGN OFFICE

Total warfare necessitates a completely new conception of foreign policy, a conception based on the will to destroy the enemy's war machine by the new weapons of economic and political warfare. In this struggle it is equally dangerous to rely on obsolete weapons as it is in the military sphere, but it is much more difficult to drive this fact home, since traditional attitudes in foreign policy persist long after the situation which gave rise to them has passed—and today these attitudes in regard to foreign policy persist both on the Right and on the Left.

For generations it has been the function of the Right to safeguard 'British interests', and the function of the Left to protest against the abuse of British power. In the nineteenth century this role fell to the Liberal party, which based its criticism of imperialism on doctrines of political equality and the liberation of oppressed nations. But the Liberal party had an independent foreign policy only to the extent that it criticised the abuse of British power; it never really contemplated the abdication of that power, and at the back of its criticism was the unconscious assumption that the power would be there and could be enforced.

In the last war, it fell to the Liberals to provide an explanation of British war aims in terms of the liberation of small nations, and to provide the ideology for a peace settlement which seemed to mean the achievement of these aims—the creation of nation states with democratic constitutions. Socialism had in fact no influence on the peace settlement at all. Had there been any real socialist influence in the last peace settlement, then at least *some* economic institutions would have been created; *some* measure of collaboration between Labour, the German revolution and the Russian revolution would have been found. But events were ahead of theories, and, though the revolutions occurred, the peace settlement did not recognise them, and in fact by insisting on the national principle sabotaged social revolution in Central Europe.

OFF ON THE WRONG FOOT

Between 1919 and 1939 British Labour, instead of evolving a foreign policy through which the real conditions of peace could have been enforced, dropped into what was in fact either a liberal or pacifist attitude. Either it criticised the Tories for failing to stand by the League, or it simply condemned war and left it at

that. Now of course the Socialist doctrine of the economic causes of war was not a doctrine to justify individual pacifism, nor was it really a doctrine which meant supporting the League. It meant a much more positive policy, aiming at attacking the economic causes of war and creating a new internationalism altogether. But British Labour failed to draw the conclusion from its own doctrines that if the causes of war were not removed war would come; it never *really* believed that war was an inevitable result of the capitalist system. Instead, British Socialists relied, as the Liberals had always implicitly done, on the assumption that the Tories would in fact go on maintaining British power so that they could have the easy job of criticising the abuse of power when it was too obvious.

The Spanish war shook up this traditional Left attitude. But it was not until Munich that there came the complete reversal of roles, in which the Right definitely abdicated its traditional role of defending Britain's interests and British power, and the Labour Party found itself advocating war. Suddenly the Left found that it had to attack, not the abuse of British power, but the lack of it. The Labour Party has even yet failed to draw the full conclusions from that situation, which is, simply, that the day of criticism is past, and that the time has come when Labour must ensure a foreign policy of its own. It cannot wait for the Government to evolve a policy in order to criticise it. *The danger is not that the Tories will produce a wrong policy, but that they will not produce any policy at all.* This fact is quite well known to anyone who has watched the influence which the Foreign Office has exerted on the war effort.

CRACKS IN THE FOREIGN OFFICE

Take, for example, the way in which the Foreign Office traditional methods have influenced economic warfare. In its early days the Ministry of Economic Warfare worked out a technique of preventing imports of key commodities to neutral countries which might go to the enemy. Italy was the chief leak in the blockade, before it entered the war. It was essential to enforce restrictions on all exports of war materials to Italy, which were likely to go to the Reich, and were in fact going in considerable volume. But 'diplomatic pressure' was exerted. Rigid limitation of imports might irritate Italy: if we showed a generous spirit, Italy would stay out of the war. Now the ordinary man knew what the Foreign Office could not know: that Italy as a Fascist country was bound to come into the war when Axis policy required it: and if Italy remained neutral that was because it

was more valuable to the Nazis as a gap in the blockade than as a belligerent. But the Foreign Office, clinging to its traditional attitude, was obliged to believe that Mussolini was a free agent, and that Italy's Fascist government could be swayed in their choice of allies by the amount of coal and petrol which Britain allowed them. So a powerful economic weapon was not used as it could have been.

Take another weapon which has failed to function as it might, political warfare. There the persistence of tradition is very apparent in regard to the Allied Governments. The Left tends to attack them as Fascist in tendency, and as symbols of the reactionary settlement which Britain means to impose on Europe. But this criticism fails to grasp the real meaning of the Allied Governments from the professional diplomat's standpoint; the danger lies, not in the fact that the Allied Governments are Fascist—though some of their members look rather like it—but in the fact that they are a perfect official excuse for not having a foreign policy at all. They are an excuse for pretending that Hitler has never happened, and that it is possible to continue to preserve diplomatic relations with governments, even if their countries have been wiped off the map. When any big scheme for economic reconstruction comes up, it can be turned down because the X's or the Y's do not like it. When a new revolutionary movement breaks out, Britain will not support it because to do so would annoy the government of Z—. Under the smoke screen of self-determination, it will be possible for the Foreign Office to play off the Allied governments against the U S S R or against the German revolution, and to back out of the responsibility for planning for the economic future of Europe as a whole. The danger is not that Britain will *force* reactionary governments in Europe; it is rather that Britain, by playing the non-intervention game and failing to support the revolution, will leave the field free for the forces of reaction to assert themselves.

CRITICISM NOT ENOUGH

Now, it is extremely important to realise that in this situation criticism is no good. Criticism can only offer a double negative, which in politics certainly does not make an affirmative. Parliamentary criticism of our propaganda, for instance, can point to mistakes that have already been made; it cannot stop mistakes from happening again. What is wanted is not a change of *policy*: since with the present set up all that a change of policy in the field of propaganda would mean would be a change in a Vansittartist direction. What is wanted is an entirely new conception of

policy, to be put across by people who can think in terms of economics and modern psychology, and can carry on economic and political warfare, and not the traditional diplomatic game.

But where is this new conception of policy to come from? Is it coming from the Labour Party? At the last Whitsun Conference there was a general demand among the delegates for the formulation of a new Socialist foreign policy. It is essential that such a policy when formed should be both revolutionary and positive, not merely a criticism of the Foreign Office or a reiteration of traditionally Left slogans. Never before has there been more need for strengthened International Socialism and never has there been more opportunity for the interchange of ideas between those who are really the men of the future.

The world war springs from profound ideological conflict which spreads across national boundaries and strengthens new political alignments. It challenges the Labour Party to offer a revolutionary conception of foreign affairs. Until that new concept emerges new ideas of foreign policy will be thrown up by Federal Union, the Common Wealth, by Professor Carr and the 1941 Committee.

But in fact, although the Forward Marchers and others may evolve sound ideas, neither they nor any of the New Progressives will really be able to find a new foreign policy for Britain. For foreign policy today is not merely a matter of good ideas: it is an expression of the political ideology of a country, and unless Britain has a real faith in the future, and a real will to achieve a new world, it cannot forge the weapons of modern political warfare. Only the Labour Party can and must offer a real fighting foreign policy, because it is only the Labour Party which can achieve a revolutionary Britain and make a revolutionary peace.

WANTED—A DYNAMIC LABOUR POLICY

Only the Labour Party, therefore, can really offer a conception of international affairs as based on a collaboration between peoples, and between communities whose economic and social intercourse is much wider and deeper than that which can be achieved by the ordinary channels of diplomacy. To do this, it must be prepared to reform the whole Foreign Office machinery. In the past, the function of the Foreign Office was to exercise diplomacy: etiquette and routine was the essence of its activity, because its function was an essentially negative one, to grease the wheels and not to build new roads. We must realise that it was this very narrow conception of foreign policy that made appeasement possible. In the years before Munich, Europe was struggling with new conceptions of economics, morals and psychology, and

things no gentleman could be expected to understand. The gentlemen who represented Great Britain naturally failed to understand them, and the Continent learnt by tragic experience that the English lord of the German comic papers was a reality. If Britain's representatives in Europe had been less gentlemanly, there would have been fewer failures of missions, and fewer far off countries of which we knew nothing. New men are the first essential.

But a Labour foreign policy will have to do much more than find new men for the diplomatic service. It will have to finish once and for all with the idea that foreign policy is a matter of making agreements between paper governments, of fixing frontiers in theory, of exchanging populations round a table, in other words, with the idea of a peace conference on static and disruptive lines. It must be prepared to act as a cohesive and dynamic force which can take energetic positive economic action in Europe; it will have to supply food, raw material, equipment, to prevent starvation and unemployment. It will have to get loans from the capitalists of the U S A to use for social construction inside Europe, and to support revolutionary forces by mobilising world economic resources to do so. All this must be done together with the U S A and with the U S S R, with Allies who command immense resources, and who will certainly come into conflict unless they are given a dynamic lead which will create a basis for common action. That dynamism will not be secured by imitating the Foreign Office. Labour must decide not merely that it wants a new world but that it wants new machinery to get it.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Last Quarter we published Susan Lawrence's review of Regional Government, by Regionaliter, Fabian Society, 6d. We print below the author's reply to Miss Lawrence :

Miss Susan Lawrence's long and unappreciative review of my tract *Regional Government* reveals the extremely conservative attitude towards proposals for the reform of local government which has for many years characterised past and present leaders of the Parliamentary Labour Party.

Miss Lawrence writes that the best method of encouraging the initiative of progressive local authorities is in her opinion on the lines of the Labour Party's Enabling Bill, which would give them wide powers to enter into all kinds of activities. Yet in 1930, when Miss Lawrence was Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Health, neither she nor her Minister (Mr Arthur Greenwood) gave the slightest encouragement to the Local Authorities (Enabling) Bill when it was introduced by Labour members. The Labour Government of that day deliberately cold-shouldered the Bill, which had formed part of the Labour Party's program for many years.

My object in writing this rejoinder is, however, to correct certain mis-statements contained in Miss Lawrence's review.

1. She summarises my argument as follows :

'The Government has set up 12 regions for central administration ; let us accept this expedient as a heaven-sent model for all time : let us have 12 elected regional councils.'

What I wrote (on p. 13) was :

'If we ignore the most conspicuous manifestation of regionalism which actually exists, and refuse to consider it as a basis for reforming local government, on the ground that it was not designed for that purpose and is admittedly not ideally suited for it, we run a grave risk of forsaking the substance for the shadow. . . . In these circumstances it is better to try to build with the materials that we have, even if they are somewhat defective, rather than to defer the attempt indefinitely until the perfect bricks and mortar come to hand—if ever they do.' And in a later passage (on p. 14) : 'The best course to adopt is to take the Civil Defence areas as the provisional basis of post-war regional government to begin with, but to regard them as no more than a first approximation. We should provide . . . for a review of the regional boundaries and of the number of regions, to be made . . . at the end of a three-year trial period ; and thereafter every five years.'

2. Miss Lawrence seizes on the distinction which I make, in regard to certain services, between planning and administration (the former to be exercised by regional councils and the latter by local authorities) and contrasts my proposals unfavourably with the scheme put forward by the South Wales Regional Committee for a Regional Council which would administer such matters as housing, education, traffic control, poor relief, hospitals, main drainage, bulk water supply, main roads and bridges, and police. This scheme, she declares, would not have 'the fatal division between planning and administration as far as the major duties are concerned'.

But on pp. 16-17 I explicitly dealt with the services requiring regional administration. I carefully explained the cogent reasons why main drainage, major hospitals, refuse disposal, technical education, specialised medical services, the police forces, fire brigades, large water supply schemes, the recruitment of staff by open competition, and other functions should be directly administered by the regional council.

How does Miss Lawrence come to overlook this indispensable part of my scheme ? She is entitled to object to my distinction between planning and administration in regard to certain services ; but she ought at least

to have explained that I propose to give the Regional Councils direct administrative responsibility in regard to a wide range of other services.

3. Miss Lawrence disputes my view that planning on a large regional scale is everywhere necessary on the ground that 'Planning radiates outward from the towns, and the area to be planned varies with the size and importance of the towns'. This is a wrong conception of territorial planning based on obsolete ideas which are no longer accepted by persons whose opinions carry weight in the town and country planning movement. Space does not permit me to expand this frankly dogmatic statement.

4. Miss Lawrence proposes that, in order to ensure a reasonable minimum standard of performance, the Minister should be authorised to withhold the General Exchequer Contribution when any of the statutory duties of an authority is not properly performed.

A power of this kind was conferred on the Minister of Health by Section 104 of the Local Government Act 1929 as regards public health functions, and on the Minister of Transport as regards highway duties. Does Miss Lawrence consider it has produced significant results? And if so, what extension is she now urging?

5. Lastly, Miss Lawrence 'notes in passing that the regional councils are to duplicate some of the essential duties of the Minister of Health—who will certainly also have his say on location changes and standard of efficiency'. She makes no mention of the fact that I devoted four pages (out of 24) to the relations between central and local government and made proposals of a novel kind with the specific object of avoiding duplication in the matter of supervising local authorities within the region.

' REGIONALITER.'

NOTES ON BOOKS

A NEW ENGLAND : PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE by Professor S. D. Adshead, M A, M Arch, F R I B A (Frederick Muller, Ltd. 7/6)

The author is invariably very sound and honest in his approach to problems of territorial planning. His native wisdom and experience in building and town planning provide him with qualifications which few possess in this field. He surveys the varied and multitudinous schemes evolved and then asks, 'What has been done? The slums remain; lowest paid workers are still unhoused; towns still unplanned etc.' Professor Adshead as a technician demonstrates the fact that the technical side is well covered. But while administrators become riddled with procedure, the politicians are mouthing pious soporifics without courage and without knowledge. Meanwhile young planners and technicians are straining at the leash. Adshead does his best, though tied to existing institutions and ancient traditions, but he cannot uphold them in one part and condemn them in another. His book is nevertheless the best of the bunch that have appeared on the New England. Technically it is based on knowledge and written with precision and does at least indicate the social and economic background out of which the uncertain future may emerge. I heartily recommend it to socialists. It makes pleasant reading despite the fact that it jumps from one subject to another. T.

CIVIL LIBERTY AND THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER by Angela Tuckett (National Council for Civil Liberties 6d)

A very useful examination of the working of the Essential Work Order, the Protected Places Byelaws, and other emergency measures which affect workers in their capacity as producers. The Essential Work Order contains much that can be used for the benefit of employees, but when it is administered by middle class Labour Exchange Managers a bias in favour of employers sometimes appears. R. S. W. P.

THE STORY OF SCOTLAND by F. Fraser Darling (Collins 4/6)

Despite obvious omissions Dr. Fraser Darling, in his miniature Story of Scotland, will arouse many interests calling for further specialist reading. 'Life and Work in Scotland' is well done, with its unique call upon the best men in Scotland to remain at home and face the social and economic problems which had become acute before the war. Superbly illustrated. J. A. B.

FACTORY INSPECTION IN GREAT BRITAIN by T. K. Djang (Allen & Unwin 12/6)

A thorough and well documented study by a Chinese student. A great deal of the book is historical and this governs the general attitude to the subject. Some reference to the growth of semi-official bodies such as the Industrial Welfare Society as essential aids in improving factory conditions. Makes suggestions for increasing the number of inspectors, raising the status of the chief inspector, increasing the number of specialists, improving the training of inspectors, education of workers and employers, closer relation with other branches of labour inspection, and greater cooperation with the I L D. A. A.

HEALTH OF THE FUTURE by Aleck Bourne (Penguin Special 9d)

The author first states his problem, estimating, by judicious selection from wide statistical sources, the present state of health or, rather, of ill-health, of the nation, and measuring against this our available prophylactic and therapeutic resources. These, comprising the existing Public Health services, private medical practice and voluntary and municipal hospitals, are shown to be quite inadequate, even by contemporary standards. Bourne's conception of 'positive health', an aim far beyond the mere combating of revealed disease, demands an

all-embracing national service and he goes on to outline various methods by which this might be achieved. Though himself an outstanding member of the Socialist Medical Association, he is careful to indicate no personal preference. Indeed, the presentation is so scrupulously fair and the style so engaging that the reader can hardly fail to give these important ideas the attention they deserve. B. C. T.

GIRLS GROWING UP by Pearl Jephcott (Faber & Faber 6/-)

This book gives an account of the influences affecting the life of girls between 14 and 18, and of the attempt that girls' clubs are making to bridge the gap between the American film and the glamour magazine on the one hand, and the theory of an intelligent democracy on the other. It is free from jargon and from prejudice, and does not grind axes. The subject matter is well-documented and the writer avoids generalization. Of very great interest, and well worth reading by anyone who wants a change from the slipshod methods of some commentators on the habits of the age. (It would have been interesting had a chapter been added, for contrast, describing 'minority homes'—e.g. the 'literate' working-class home and the life of adolescents in an agricultural community.) D. F.

THE MANAGERIAL REVOLUTION by James Burnham (Putnam 7/6)

Only the ostrich should miss this book. It is a challenge to all those courageous enough to think ahead and to evolve new solutions for the new problems of the day. Burnham argues that the alternative to capitalism is not socialism but the rule of the managers—i.e. the rule of those who, in a highly developed technical civilisation, hold the key of technical knowledge. It is a ruthless book, for Burnham, aiming at scientific analysis, refuses to allot morals or motives to the managers who stalk, giant figures, through his pages. The key questions, to whom will the managers be responsible, what will be their social code, and how, in political terms, will this development take shape, are not answered. The definition of the managers is also too restricted; professional and technical people of all sorts should logically be included. This book misses greatness, for it lacks philosophy and profundity, and its arguments are sketched too rapidly. But as a milestone marking the velocity of current economic, social and political changes it is of first-class importance. J. S. C.

General

THE WAR ON THE CIVIL AND MILITARY FRONTS by Major-General G. M. Lindsay (Lees-Knules Lectures on Military History, 1942) (Cambridge University Press 5/-)

ARISE TO CONQUER by Wing Commander Ian Glead, D F C, with foreword by Flight-Lieutenant John Strachey (Victor Gollancz 8/6)

F S P by Sergeant A. Gwynn-Browne (Chatto and Windus 6/-)

Three books about war. General Lindsay's lectures are very interesting, and give the lie to the very commonly held belief that all British generals are bone from the neck up. He can write lucidly; he has a sense of history and of the causes of war and unpreparedness; and to one lay reader, at least, his remarks upon military strategy, upon the Spanish War and Russian resistance, and upon Civil Defence, are full of merit. Of the three, this book is definitely the best value for the money. 'Arise to Conquer' is the first-hand story of fighters in the days of the Battle of Britain. Vividly written, and giving incidentally a fine picture of the type of man who made the R A F, and of his difference from the Nazi or Fascist flying-man. There is very little about glory and the joy of bombing, and a lot about fear and the bitter necessity of having to go to war. It is rather expensive, and the photographs not individual enough to be worth the extra money; but it is very readable.

'FSP' is Field Security Police, and Sergeant Gwynne-Browne has written of his experiences in France in 1940, in the style of archy and mehitapel. This style works well enough for description, but is wearisome as a vehicle for political thought. Also he should get his natural observations right; bugloss does not flower in early spring. The descriptive passages, if you like the style, are very effective—and as depressing as Habe's 'A Thousand Shall Fall' or Koestler's 'Darkness at Noon'. But surely the black days of France are past. M I. C.

RACE, REASON AND RUBBISH by Gunnar Dahlberg. Translated by Lancelot Hogben (Allen & Unwin 8/6)

Is a more technical book than the title suggests. The first chapters deal very lucidly with the scientific principles of inheritance, combining the simplicity of Hogben's style with the expert planning and scientific exposition of an outstanding geneticist. This part is not wholly necessary for an understanding of the later chapters which discuss qualitatively the possible effects of inbreeding, natural selection and miscegenation in and among different so-called races. The presence or absence of scientific basis of many popular beliefs is discussed, the most important being the popular correlation of different genetical factors in a mixed population which has taken such a firm hold on the Nazi mind.

R. S. P.

THE FOOL'S PROGRESS by Rom Landau (Faber & Faber)

This book purports to show aspects of British civilisation in action. Our insularity, hypocrisy and other national vices are shown in such a way as to suggest that our success as a nation is because of rather than in spite of these failings. A moral may be drawn from the book but it will not be the one the author has in mind. In these days of paper shortage it is hard to find any justifiable reason for the publication of this book.

E. P.

A COMMON FAITH OR SYNTHESIS by J. B. Coates (Eldon 2/6) (George Allen & Unwin)

In this able essay of 146 pages a plea is put forward for a religio-political faith whereby the religious needs of man, no longer satisfied by the churches, can find expression in a progressive democratic creed. The idea is that the religious impulse should provide a dynamic which will infuse democratic politics with a sense of purpose and discipline. The suggestions made as to how this may be achieved are worthy of thoughtful study.

E. P.

THE DEMOCRATIC ADVANCE by Edward Mansley (Andrew Dakers 6/-)

In the 200 pages of his book Mr Mansley shows how the achievements of democracy can be consolidated and further victories won. The book is not only readable, but is worth reading, and the author is to be congratulated for his clear thinking contribution in a field which is so often confused.

E. P.

International

THE STORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE by C. F. Strong (London University Press 7/6)

There are a fair number of good books upon America, but nearly all of them are not for the general reader. Those that do fall within this category are mostly trash. This book is for the general reader and is very good. It is a highly intelligent history of what D. W. Brogan calls 'a unique success' and it is written in a delightful style. Of particular excellence is the chapter 'The New Imperialism'. The index section is valuable, but it is remarkable, however, that in the list of books suggested for further reading one does not light upon Myers's classical 'History of the Great American Fortunes'.

H. F.

THE AMERICAN VENTURE by R. B. Mowat (Dakers 12/6)

Partly no doubt because of the tragical and premature death of its author, this book is disappointingly but another of those undistinguished and incomplete histories of the United States which publishers are rushing out to meet an almost insatiable demand for books on America. The pattern of the work is conventional and because of the unavoidable lack of revision the detail often inaccurate. As a useful preliminary outline of American history this can be recommended but as nothing more.

GERMANS AND JAPS IN SOUTH AMERICA by R. W. Thompson (Faber & Faber 6/-)

This is an interesting enough travel book, but not the story of Fifth Column penetration in Latin America, as the title might lead the unsuspecting to believe. In fact, the book was first issued two years ago under the title of 'Voice from the Wilderness' and is now somewhat misleadingly reissued with its new title. Mr Thompson as a journalist visited some settlements in Paraguay and the Misiones region of Argentine, a few of which were partly German and one of which was Japanese. Politics do not enter into the picture, but Mr and Mrs Thompson as competent observers of scenery and persons do.

E. D.

UNKNOWN EUROPE (Liberty Publications, 11 Waterloo Place, S W 1 3d)

A brilliant popular summary of the main features of economic life in peasant Europe, with excellent pictorial statistics. As to remedies, the author overemphasises industrialisation as a way out, without suggesting the need of a co-ordinated attack on the problem of the relative agricultural efficiency of overseas countries and Europe, and without suggesting how the growth of industries should be stimulated. 'Planning,' without an expansionist policy for this region, is not enough. But as an introduction to the subject the pamphlet deserves to be widely known.

D. W.

PRAGUE BRAVES THE HANGMAN by E. V. Erdely (The Czechoslovak Unpriced)

This catalogue of horrors has added interest in the recent assassination of Heydrich, whose rule in Prague it portrays. Three thoughts were left uppermost in my mind—(1) That terror is the only weapon an aggressor has in imposing his will on a free people; (2) How the Czechs by their courageous example have made a hollow mockery of the 'New Order'. (3) How thinned will be the ranks of those who would have been their post-war leaders and of the burden therefore resting on those of their Nationals in exile.

W. G. F.

THE U.S.S.R.—ITS SIGNIFICANCE FOR THE WEST by S. C. G. (Gollancz 2/6)

An admirably clear account of the Russian revolution and Soviet policy which shows that prevailing political conditions in Russia are largely due to her unique isolation in a hostile world—and planned economy is not incompatible with political democracy. But unless the socialist forces in this country are powerful enough to assure permanent co-operation with Russia as a basis for European security, Russia will once again be forced into isolation and Socialist Reconstruction in Europe become meaningless. By the publishers of Labour Discussion Notes, this objective study is of great importance to the Labour Movement.

L. C.

SOVIET RUSSIA by K. Gibberd (Oxford, for Royal Institute of International Affairs 1/-)

This Chatham House pamphlet is in some respects an admirable shillingsworth of introduction to the U.S.S.R. for English people. The maps, diagrams, and general description of the country give an excellent idea of the Soviet Union as a whole, and not merely or mainly of European Russia. But at the back of Miss Gibberd's mind there seems to be some theoretical assumptions which are not made clear. In consequence her view of the quality of Soviet production is not fairly

presented, her conclusion about the 'standardisation' of life in the USSR is almost laughably biased, and one wonders whether it is accidental that her three most important chapters end on a subtly pessimistic note. This is not the positive, inspiring, appreciative kind of book one would have expected to be prepared for a Committee concerned with education in the Forces.

IN RUSSIA NOW by Sir Walter Citrine (Robert Hale 3/6)

Is based upon his articles in the 'Daily Herald'. Slight though it is, it will certainly succeed in its intention—'. . . to do something to bring our two nations closer together in our common struggle.'

WE MADE A MISTAKE... (HITLER) by Lucien Zacharoff (John Lane 6/-)

is a well-compiled account of Soviet arms and Soviet strategy, not unreasonably optimistic, and better documented than many writings on the subject.

RUSSIA IN FLUX—BEFORE OCTOBER by Sir John Maynard (Gollancz 7/6)

Is a beautifully painstaking piece of work. Nowhere else in English do 285 pages give such a full, rich, and living account of Russia from the nineties up to 1917. Most of the sources are Russian, not available in English, and the account of the revolutionary intelligentsia, of such men as Belinsky and Chernyshevsky, of the Orthodox Church and of the peasantry will be new to nearly all readers. Without in the least belittling the importance of the Revolution, the book is a contribution, unique up to the present, to the study of what is fundamental and continuous in the old and the new Russia. W. W. M.

SOVIET LABOUR AND INDUSTRY by L. E. Hubbard (Macmillan 15/-)

This book is easy to read and informative, but it is rather for the man in the street than for the student. Its scope is wider than its title implies and it contains useful general information. It suffers from two drawbacks. It was written before Russia entered the war and matters which were then subjects of conjecture have since been clarified for all of us. Secondly, although the author obviously tries to be fair and objective (his preface dated September 1941 is admirable), the socialist reader will, I think, sometimes detect an anti-socialist bias, which is perhaps explained by the fact that the author's family was for nearly 200 years engaged in commerce with Russia. The price seems a trifle high. F. S. C.

CHINA REDISCOVERS HER WEST by Yi Fang Wu and Frank Price (Allen & Unwin 6/-)

A collection of articles by Chinese Christians and American missionaries. It gives a good picture of Szechwan and the Chinese resistance in the interior. The contribution of Chinese Christians to the national renaissance has been out of all proportion to their numbers; they have acted as carriers both of reform and of opposition to Japan. There is an honest and moving statement of the problem of Christianity faced with war, by T. C. Chao, which is quite as relevant to Western as to Eastern civilisation. F. W.

BRITISH RULE IN EASTERN ASIA by Lennox A. Mills (Oxford University Press 25/-)

Professor Mills has performed a real service in writing this very readable and well-documented account of British rule in Malay and Hong Kong, which should be studied by everyone interested in problems of colonial administration. In Malay benevolent autocracy functioned well—health services and communications were models for all tropical colonial territories, but the problems of obtaining a balanced agricultural economy and of encouraging any capacity for self-government among the indigenous Malay population were neglected far too long, and even the social services were too dependent on the fluctuating price of rubber. In Hong Kong the problem of reconciling Chinese prejudices with reasonable standards of health and sanitation was tackled with imagination and understanding but with too little courage. M. O.

